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ABSTRACT

The history of education and civil rights in Detroit is briefly reviewed before discussion begins on the implications of the Brown decision. It is a premise of the author that the 1954 Supreme Court decision influenced or directly brought about some major changes in the schools. The issues discussed here were raised during the decade following 1954 and were interpreted by many as being directly related to inequity, descrimination, and race. In a sense, these grew out of frustration and disappointments over the slow implementation of Brown and the failure of schools to provide quality education. The areas covered include equality of educational opportunity, pluralism, testing, accountability, decentralization, affirmative action, and the Court's impact on power in education. (Author/IRT)

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THE IMPACT OF THE U.S. SUPREME COURT 1954

BROWN DECISION UPON EDUCATION IN DETROIT

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PREFACE

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'Separate but Equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

- Brown vs. Board of Education
U. S. Supreme Court, May 17, 1954

"On June 21, 1974, the Federal District Court in Boston found that the Boston School Committee had unconstitutionally fostered and maintained a segregated school system."

- National Institute of Education
Resegregation: A Second Generation School Desegregation Issue

The 1974 decision in Boston, twenty years after Brown, was a tragic reminder that the U. S. Supreme Court's order to move with "all deliberate speed" was far from being realized. A recent position paper by NIE underscores that not only Boston, but other cities as well, were undergoing a resegregation period in the 1970's. (NIE)

Cognizant of the shortcomings and disappointments on desegregation, particularly in Northern cities, this study seeks to explore what impact, direct or indirect, the 1954 decision had upon American education. It is the author's opinion that Brown vs. Board of Education changed to a large degree the American public school system. Brown exposed the shortcomings of American education and made it more sensitive and responsive to public needs.

It is also my premise that the 1954 Supreme Court Decision on education influenced, or directly brought about some major changes in American schools. It is obvious that some of these reforms were not entirely new; it is also, unfortunately, true that not all attained their objectives--but they received a new momentum and direction as a result of the Civil Rights Revolution that followed the Brown Decision. Here are several post-Brown developments to be considered:

1. Equality of Educational Opportunity

Brown mandated equal treatment and opportunity. As the debates over equity continued, its definition expanded. By 1960-62 advocates of equal educational opportunity were contending that as in the past we compensated the physically handicapped, education must now compensate those children who come from depressed areas. Schools must not merely allow children to enter the educational race, but they must enable them to run the race successfully. The ESEA*of 1965 and its Title I were solutions offered. A few years later the concept of equal educational opportunity expanded further with the Serrano Decision which opened the door to equal educational financing within a state.

*Elementary and Secondary Education Act

2. Pluralism

In the early 1960's there arose a wave of criticism by minority groups against the content, bias, and distortion in American schoolbooks and teaching materials. Charges were made by Blacks, Indians and other minorities that school textbooks degraded minorities, disregarded their contribution to American society, contributed to low self-esteem on the part of children and, in turn, affected negatively their motivation in school. Black studies, revised texts, and bilingual education were introduced.

3. Testing

Due to the impetus of the Civil Rights Movement school testing, particularly intelligence tests, came under greater scrutiny. Culture-biased tests surfaced as an issue, and the testing movement came under greater surveillance. The court case, Hobson vs. Hansen, in Washington, D.C. aroused the nation's interest and influenced new directions in the development and interpretation of tests.

4. Accountability

As parents' frustrations increased over the results of school achievement, protests and challenges to the educational profession multiplied. "Why can we go to the moon and schools can't teach our children to read?" parents asked. Others wondered, "Is the profession biased against the poor?" "Is it racist, or is it simply incompetent?" Prior to Brown responsibility for learning was upon the learner--the new thrust placed greater responsibility upon the profession. Performance Contracts and Competency Based Teacher Education were two of the developments in response to accountability.

5. Decentralization

School policies and practices had traditionally been the responsibility of boards of education and administration. During the past twenty years we have witnessed widespread demands for the sharing of responsibility in decision making and for new voices or partners in school policy. Citizen advisory councils were required under Title I, and parents in general began to assert themselves more on school regulations and school decisions. In California, the recent Early Childhood Education Program called for Citizen Advisory Committees.

Along with the drive for a new role by parents came the demand in large cities for decentralized power. Bigness, distance from local schools, bureauacracy--all came under attack, and demands for real power closer to the individual school were initiated in various cities.

6. Affirmative Action

The demand for quality education was also accompanied by requests for elimination of discrimination in the hiring, assignment, and promotion of minorities

in the school bureaucracy. This movement was also based upon the assumption that minority children required professionals with whom they could identify, individuals who could serve as models, and professionals whose understanding and compassion would enhance motivation and learning. School districts were required to report racial counts of staff, keep records of their assignment, and develop promotion criteria and tests that were relevant to the performance of each position.

7. Hegemony and Power in Education was Changed by the Courts

As mentioned above, prior to 1954, school regulations, policies and practices were, by and large, left to school boards and administrators. In those few instances when they were brought before courts it was the practice in the past to refer the plaintiff to the board of education. After 1954, however, courts agreed to review complaints brought against school boards and to rule whether regulations complied with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to both parents and students. Expulsions, dress codes, etc. were reviewed by the courts, and decisions by school administrators or school boards were, on occasions, reversed. The educational profession and boards of education reluctantly accepted this new status and began to reexamine student codes, hiring practices, and policies in general.

Some Guidelines

How does one determine which program was influenced by the Brown Decision of 1954? Undoubtedly, this will be a subjective choice. The reader may not agree with some of the author's conclusions or may think of some efforts which have been omitted. Let me comment on factors that influenced my selection.

The battle over phonics in the 1950's, team teaching in the 1960's, and the return to the basics in the 1970's are examples of educational issues or changes that I do not attribute to Brown. Phonics was a reaction to the progressive education movement, a response to parental discontent with both the reading program and the general climate or atmosphere of the school. Team teaching was a reaction to boredom in many classrooms, and an effort to improve teaching content for youngsters, particularly at the junior and senior high school level. It was implemented first in many middle class suburban communities rather than in large cities. The return-to-basics movement during the 1970's is a cyclical event in educational history. It has been intermingled in the past with other issues: remove frills from the curriculum, stronger discipline, or the introduction of religious values into the school. It has occurred intermittently over several decades, generally in periods of economic stress and, therefore, not attributed by the author to the U. S. Supreme Court Decision of 1954.

On the other hand, accountability, affirmative action, bias in textbooks and tests seem more related to Brown. These responded to issues raised during the decade following 1954 and were interpreted by many as being directly related to inequity, discrimination and race. In a sense, these grew out

of frustration and disappointments over the slow implementation of Brown--and the failure of schools to provide quality education. The Right to Read Program had overtones of a political manifesto. The issue of culture bias tests challenged the validity of testing and underscored our pluralistic society. Mistreatment of minority groups in textbooks raised questions of outright bias and charges that the use of these materials led to the degradation of minorities.

These and related issues will be discussed at greater length in this monograph.

Since emphasis in this monograph will be placed upon the developments in the City of Detroit, let us review briefly some developments of civil rights in the auto city.

THE NEGRO AND CIVIL RIGHTS IN DETROIT - AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

"Our Father who art in Dearborn. Oh! Henry Ford by Thy name."

- An adage attributed to Blacks in Detroit in the period following World War I. (McRae)

"You Negroes," snarled Clarence Darrow. "What do you have to thank God for? What did He ever do for you?"

- At a meeting in Detroit called by Blacks which began with a prayer. Darrow was at the time defending Dr. Sweet, a black gynecologist, charged with killing a white man when a mob attacked his home. (Dancy)

Prior to the Civil War Detroit was an important link in the underground railroad and a meeting place for such key figures as John Brown and Frederick Douglass. Despite Detroit's and Michigan's favorable pre-Civil War stance against slavery, civil rights remained an issue in Michigan.

The Detroit public schools, founded in 1842, report a "colored school" for that year and a second "colored school" by 1856.

In 1867 the Michigan State Legislature prohibited segregation in the public schools: "All residents of any district shall have an equal right to attend any school therein providing that this will not prevent the grading of schools according to the intellectual progress of pupils to be taught." Despite the law of 1867, one year later two black parents were refused the right to enroll their children in a school close to their homes, but serving only white students. Willis and Workum, the two black parents, turned to the courts to test the new law. In 1870, the Michigan Supreme Court upheld the new legislation and the children of Willis and Workum were enrolled in the former all-white school.*

*When white parents withdrew their children in protest against the court decision, the Board of Education removed the double seats from the school in 1871 and replaced them with single desks to avoid the complaint of white and black students sitting together! (McCrae)

In 1871 Fanny Richards, a black woman, was hired as a teacher in the Detroit schools and assigned to "colored school #2." Miss Richards taught in Detroit for many years and is credited with introducing the kindergarten program in Detroit. One hundred years later, in 1970, the Detroit Board of Education officially paid tribute to Miss Richard's teaching career.

By 1910 Detroit had a population of 465,766 of whom only 5,741 were black. In 1920 Detroit's population was 993,739 and the number of Blacks had grown to 40,838. World War I and the growth of Detroit's auto industry brought many from the South to Detroit. The Ford Motor Company was then regarded by many Blacks as practicing more equitable employment practices in the hiring, assignment, and promotion of Blacks. In the 1930's when the United Automobile Workers attempted to organize at the Ford Motor Company, the latter found much support among its black workers. National black leaders were brought by the UAW to Detroit in an effort to gain black support.

Testing in the Schools - Race and Nationality

In 1920 the Detroit public school system was one of the pioneers in the new research and testing movement, and reported its first major Age-Grade and Nationality Survey. (Detroit Educational Bulletin) It is significant that in this study where children were classified by national origin of parents, Blacks or "U.S. Colored" as they were designated in the report, were separated from "U.S. White" and not included with the white native-born students in the survey. The school enrollment was at the time 122,000 students, of whom nearly 5,000 were listed as "U.S. Colored."

The survey reported: "A study of three or more year retardation by nationality shows the Scotch, U.S. Whites, English and Canadian children with the smallest percent of retardation. Standing well within this group are the children classified as Russians.* The range of 28 nations that are statistically reliable is from 1.95 in the case of Scotch to 17.07 percent for the United States Colored." (Detroit Educational Bulletin) This study analyzed each school by nationality. It stated that "the heaviest grouping of colored children as east of Woodward, North of Jefferson, and south of the Boulevard. The remainder are widely scattered throughout the city." (Detroit Educational Bulletin) Though a study by nationality, no explanation was given in the survey for separating U.S. White from U.S. Colored.

The basis for breakdown by nationality was undoubtedly influenced by several factors: the 1910 Reports of the Immigration Commission Children of Immigrants in Schools, a five volume survey which reported on low achievement of immigrant children, particularly from certain southern European nations; the Aryan Theory of inferior and superior races which appealed to some at the time; and political motivations which led to the immigration laws of the early 1920's that restricted immigrants from certain parts of Europe

*The use of the words "classified as Russians" was the survey's manner of indicating that these were mostly Jewish students whose parents were born in Russia.

to the United States. Another factor was the newly developed testing movement influenced by World War I. The finding in the Detroit survey that children from English-speaking countries did better in school than those of southern European nationals supported both the Aryan Theory and political decisions. Although the authors of the Detroit Report observe that the reasons for retardation among various nationalities is "a fruitful subject for investigation" it goes on to say:

> "Study of the nationality of high school pupils as compared with that of elementary school pupils should furnish some valuable information in regard to the percentage of pupils of a given nationality that are likely to enter, and the percentage that will probably finish the high school."(Detroit Educational Bulletin)

Some additional comments and figures from the Detroit study of 1920 shed some light on educational thinking of the time:

> "The classification of nationality in this survey is upon the basis of the country in which the father was born. The United States (white population) represents the second generation in this country. The actual school membership (Detroit) is 50.56 United States (White). The Slavic races comprise approximately 19.7%, the Anglo Saxons 11.2%, the Teutonic 7.6%, the Latins 4.6%, and the colored 4.58% of the population. As this is the first comprehensive nationality survey upon the basis of school membership it is impossible to tell how much ground the native Whites have lost in the last decade . . ." (Detroit Educational Bulletin) (Italics by the author)

The report then lists the distribution of nationalities in the Detroit Public Schools: Poland 7.94%, Russia 6.54%, Canada 5.88%, Germany 4.72%, U.S. Colored 4.58%, Italy 4.21%, England 3.23%, etc. It also adds that "in both intermediate and high school the United States (White) predominate."

After 1920 the population of Detroit grew at a rapid pace: by 1930 the black population increased to 120,000 or 7.7% of the total, and by 1940 Blacks were 9.2% of Detroit's population. In 1950 Blacks comprised 16% of the total; 1960, 28.9%; and in 1970, when Detroit's population was 1,500,000, the number of Blacks was 660,000 or 43.7%. In the public schools of Detroit black students comprised slightly over 65% by the early 1970's.

The Case of Dr. Sweet

A comprehensive history of the struggle for civil rights by various minorities, particularly Blacks, is still to be written. The Sweet case in the 1920's attracted national attention. Dr. Sweet purchased a home outside the black ghetto. His home was attacked by a mob of whites. Sweet was alleged to have fired a gun and killed a white neighbor, not in the mob. Dr. Sweet was defended by Clarence Darrow and freed. In 1938, some twelve years after the Sweet incident, The Detroit Housing Commission reported that 85% of all housing in the city was closed to Blacks. (McRae)

During the 1930's Detroit, along with the rest of the nation, suffered from an economic depression. Minorities are generally the first victims of economic stress. The Urban League, the NAACP and several groups established in Detroit during the 1930's and 1940's concerned themselves with the issue of civil rights. Some of these groups, generally consisting of black and white participants, were alleged to have been instigated by left wing ideology or the Communist party. Norman McRae's study, "The Michigan Civil Rights Congress--Involvements in the Struggle for Negro Rights," an unpublished monograph, relates the development of these organizations, and their impact upon the city and the black community.

There were various groups in Detroit during this period who focused their attentions upon civil rights: the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights founded in the spring of 1935, the Professional League for Civil Rights in October 1935, the Citizens Committee for Protection of Civil Rights in the Automobile Industry, January 1937, and the Civil Rights Federation, June 1937. These organizations occasionally joined with the NAACP and others on issues pertaining to police brutality against Blacks, labor, etc. Periodically, they issued statements critical of the KKK, the Black Legion, Nazis, Father Coughlin, and others who in their view presented a threat to civil rights.

Racial Strife at Northwestern High School

In 1940 racial strife erupted between white and black students at Detroit's Northwestern High School. Northwestern's enrollment was soaring at the time, and about 750 of the school's 4,000 students were black. Sporadic fighting between black and white students erupted outside the school on Monday, February 26, 1940. Outsiders were alleged to have initiated the fighting. Some charged the KKK with creating tension in the area. Reverend Horace White, a well-known black minister and leader in the civil rights movement, living in the Northwestern area, stated that "misguided students of both races" started the fighting.

Following this occurrence The Civil Rights Federation organized the Northwestern Institute which met on March 30, 1940. The Institute focused on three related topics: What can the administration do? What can the community do? and What can the students do? Convinced that discrimination existed at the school, the Institute developed seventeen recommendations which they brought before the Detroit Board of Education on August 21, 1941. The Board agreed to study the report, among which were the following recommendations: That Negro teachers be assigned to Northwestern, that disciplinary action be taken against teachers and administrators "who propagate or encourage race hatred," and that the school library be supplied with The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass, Black Reconstruction by DuBois, and The Collapse of the Southern Confederacy by Dr. Wesley, that an interracial organization be formed among the students, that students educate parents on the racial question, etc.

Since the principal of Northwestern High School expressed concern that the discord in the area went beyond a mere scuffle between students, the Detroit Board of Education requested the Mayor to appoint a commission to study the matter. The Mayor appointed a committee of black and white citizens to review racial disturbances, and Warren Banner, Director of Research for the National Urban League, was brought to Detroit to direct the study.

The Banner Report attributed the disturbances at Northwestern to: (1) Blacks buying homes and moving into the area; (2) discrimination at the YMCA (located across the street from Northwestern); (3) segregation in boys and girls locker rooms at the school; (4) arranging classroom seating patterns according to race; (5) faculty interference in student elections, and the preferential treatment of white students regardless of who was in the right; and (6) unsympathetic teachers. (McRae)

The Report also focused on the hiring practices of the Board of Education. In 1940 there were only 98 Negro teachers out of a teaching staff of 7,498. The Report also made recommendations on employment, housing, recreation, and education. Among the recommendations to the Board of Education there were some that to this day remain a concern in many cities: recruitment and hiring practices, particular attention to neighborhoods that were undergoing transitions in population, and transfer of teachers whose attitudes reflect racial bias. "To help facilitate this, the present committee on race friction should work toward adding persons of proven integrity to appear before the Board of Education to air the views of the Negro community insofar as its educational needs are concerned." (McRae)

The Board of Education did assign a black teacher to Northwestern and, when Northwestern's principal died, he was replaced by a white educator who had served in a high school that was primarily black. Efforts were also made by the school system to broaden its human relations program.

Detroit's First Major Racial Riot

The event that shook the city and the nation most was the racial riot in Detroit in June 1943. A warning of strained race relations in the city preceded in May of that year at the Packard plant where 20,000 white workers went out on strike when the company promoted three Blacks to the assembly line. The strike, though not authorized and strongly opposed by the union leadership, was, however, powerful enough that union leaders asked management to hold back on the promotion until the union could prepare its workers, many of them from the South, for an integrated assembly line.

The riot proper was ignited on Sunday, June 20, 1943. It started with the spread of rumors in both the white and black communities. It began as a pleasant weekend in June, and families were enjoying the weekend at Belle Isle, a beautiful city park on the east side of the city. On Saturday and Sunday rumors spread in the white communities that a Negro had shot a white

woman on the Belle Isle bridge. In the black community a rumor was repeated that a white mob had thrown a black lady and her baby off the Belle Isle bridge. Attacks by both Blacks and whites against people of opposite color erupted, followed by fires, looting and killings. By the time that federal troops were called in and order restored 1,000 were injured, some 1,800 arrested and 33 were dead. Of the 33 dead 26 were Blacks. Seventeen of the 33 dead were shot by police--all 17 were black.

Observors of the riot attributed a great deal of the tension to the influx of large numbers of southern whites with "traditional southern attitudes towards the Negroes." (Dancy) Others pointed to the fact that higher income for the Blacks, accompanied by very limited poor housing, contributed to the discontent. The Detroit Housing Commission reported in 1941 that 14 per cent of white dwellings and 50.2 per cent of black dwellings were sub-standard.

The author was a teacher at Poe Elementary School at the time of the riot. Situated within the inner city, in a poor neighborhood, Poe School had approximately 20 per cent black students and 80 per cent white, most of them from southern Appalachia. On Monday morning, June 21, the second day of the riot, school attendance started out fairly well. But by ten in the morning, as incidents were reported either on the radio or by word of mouth, parental fears increased. Dozens of white and black parents came to school to take their children home. As black and white parents encountered one another in the school building, each race seemed to express surprise that parents of the opposite race were equally worried for their children's safety.

The Decade After World War II

Between 1943 and 1954, the year of the Brown decision, the black population of Detroit increased. Immediately prior to World War II, when Detroit's industrial resources were being expanded, housing projects erected by the federal government were generally segregated, often creating black islands in white areas and, at least in one instance, with a wall to separate the communities. This was particularly visible in Detroit's northwest area near the Wyoming 8-mile boundary.

The revival of home construction after the close of World War II opened up new white neighborhoods and brought on the market used homes for Blacks in various areas that were abandoned by white families. Blacks generally lived in older neighborhoods, and their children attended older schools. Between 1945 and 1950 the most extreme need for school space was in the white areas where new homes were being erected.

Writing in 1949, the decade after World War II, perhaps Howe and Widick captured best the mood and social climate of Detroit:

> "Detroit, to a considerable extent, is a city of transplanted southerners. . . here have come Willie Washington from the cotton fields of the black belt, John Thomas fresh from Tennessee and eager to draw the big pay

at Ford's, the hillbillies from Arkansas and the Allegheny ridges, the Rednecks and the Crackers. With them came the crossroad preachers, White and Negro, the shouters and the exhorters, the tent show camp meeting gospel men, damnation Baptists and Methodist clerics from southern small towns and the back country. These migrants moved in along with a stream of foreign-born, of whom the Poles furnished the largest contingent." (McRae)

Now let us see how Detroit reacted to the Brown decision of 1954.

THE EARLY REACTION TO BROWN: "IT'S A SOUTHERN PROBLEM"

"The south will adjust to it just as the north over a long period of time also adjusted."

- Editorial, Detroit Free Press, May 19, 1954

"Problems lie thick ahead, but there is every reason to believe that they will in time be met and solved, not because the Supreme Court has ordered but because the American people will."

- Editorial, Detroit News, May 19, 1954

The Proceedings of the Detroit Board of Education for the year 1954 do not indicate any formal acknowledgement of the Supreme Court decision on desegregation. It was undoubtedly regarded as a southern issue. The only headlines that the Detroit Board of Education made in the early 1950's dealt with charges against several "Red" teachers in the school system.

Detroit was not alone in its reaction to Brown. The New York Times of May 18, 1954, listed segregation figures for the seventeen states and the District of Columbia, where segregation existed by law. Figures on segregation elsewhere were not available. The New York Times of March 13, 1956, nearly two years after Brown featured a special section on desegregation in the south. The New York Times listed again the former states and the District of Columbia. Michigan was in 1954 one of the sixteen states where segregation was prohibited by law. In 1974, twenty years after Brown, Detroit was before the U.S. Supreme Court, its schools more segregated than in 1954, and the issue before the Court was metropolitan desegregation.

In the immediate years following the 1954 Supreme Court decision attention was focused only upon de jure segregation. Four months after Brown, the Saturday Review devoted a full issue to "The Public Schools' Five Crises." Crisis No. 3 was "the desegregation of Negro education ordered by the May 17 Supreme Court." Fred M. Hechinger had an article in that issue on the Supreme Court decision. He was optimistic and directed his remarks to the South. He wrote:

"They may not know it now. In fact, they may never quite realize it, but the more than three million youngsters who have just begun to go to school are members of a historic class: The school year 1954-1955 will be known in the textbooks some hundreds of years from now as the end of an old era and the beginning of the new." (The Saturday Review)

Two other articles in that issue of the Saturday Review touched upon desegregation: both were reviews, one of Harry Ashmore's The Negro and the Schools (1954) written before May 17, 1954, and the other of Schools in Transition (1954) edited by Robin Williams and Margaret W. Ryan.

Though writing before Brown, Ashmore sensed the stormy years ahead. He wrote: "My experience as a journalist in the company of scholars has strengthened my conviction that no problems are beyond resolution by reasonable men--not even the thorny ones that lie in the uncertain area between the polar attitudes of the American White, who does not yet accept the Negro as his equal, and the American Negro, who is not satisfied with anything else."

Ashmore also wrote the introduction to Schools in Transition, published after May 17, 1954. He discussed the Brown decision with cautioned optimism. Ashmore quoted in his introduction former Justice Owen J. Roberts, who at the time was chairman of the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, the body that sponsored the above studies. Roberts observed:

"This volume and those that follow it are intended to bring into focus the dimensions and the nature of the complex educational problems that in many ways provide a significant test of American democracy. The ultimate solution of that problem will rest with the men and women who make and execute public school policy in thousands of school districts and their actions will be conditioned by the degree of understanding of the general public which supports their efforts with its tax dollars."

How did the men and women who formulate public school policy respond to the challenge of the Court?

The two most powerful educational organizations in the United States at the time of the Brown decision were the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, the latter a part of the NEA at the time, but influential due to its membership--superintendents, and other high ranking administrators. The NEA was the first to react, probably because it held its national convention in the summer, whereas the AASA met in February 1954 prior to Brown. The NEA Resolution, No. 4, in the summer of 1954 was as follows:

"Segregation and Integration in Public Schools" - The principle embodied in the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with regard to racial segregation is reflected in long established provisions

of the platform of the National Education Association. The Association recognizes that integration of all groups in our public schools is more than an idea, it is a process which concerns every state and territory in our nation.

The Association urges that all citizens approach this matter of integration in the public schools with the spirit of fair play and good will which has always been an outstanding characteristic of the American people. It is the conviction of the Association that all problems of integration in our schools are capable of solution by citizens of intelligence, saneness and reasonableness, working together in the interests of national unity for the common good of all." (NEA)

The 1955 Resolution of the AASA omitted the first sentence of the NEA Resolution, otherwise the statement was exactly as that of the NEA.

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, a department of the NEA, devoted the November 1954 issue of Educational Leadership to integration. Its editorial said:

"We at ASCD are espcially responsible for encouraging the readiness of this country to rid itself of the outward and visible signs of segregation. We are equally responsible to work for the growth among us all of the inward and spiritual grace out of which grows acceptance of all personalities as of great worth. (Educational Leadership)

The above organizations were chosen not merely because the NEA and the AASA were the two powerful associations in the United States, but also because it was still a period when schools throughout the country looked with some awe and recognition at decisions made by these two bodies.

While we are dwelling on the years 1954-1955 it should be noted that the New York City Board of Education is credited with being the first to adopt a resolution on the Brown decision:

"It is now the clearly reiterated policy and program of the Board of Education of the City of New York to devise and put into operation a plan which will prevent the further development of such segregated schools, and would integrate the existing ones as quickly as practicable. . . (Rogers)

The New York Board also declared that the May 17, 1954, Supreme Court decision was "a challenge to all boards of education throughout the nation, in Northern as well as Southern communities." (Zitron) It should be added that in June 1954, some six months prior to the board's action, Dr. Kenneth Clark criticized the New York Board of Education for permitting inferior buildings and schooling in predominantly black schools. Clark's admonition undoubtedly had an impact upon New York's school administration and board members.

The years 1960-61 witnessed much resistance in the South toward desegregation and was followed by stronger militancy on the part of Blacks. The 1961 resolutions of the AASA and the NEA reflect these trying years. The AASA declared: "The Association firmly believes that no social, economic or governmental problem is so grave, so deep-seated, or so difficult as to justify the destruction or serious impairment of the institution of free public education in any state." And the NEA stated that it "views with concern the problems which accompany the evolving process of desegregation in the public schools. . ." and suggested that democratic principles serve as guidelines for school districts. (NEA Volume 99)

The year 1964 was a key year for the NEA. Included with the resolution on "desegregation in the public schools" was NEA's decision "to take immediate steps to remove all restrictive membership requirements dealing with race, creed, or ethnic groups." Implementation was to be completed by July 1, 1966. Thus, a thorny issue that had plagued the NEA for years was finally resolved ten years after Brown. In 1967 the NEA called for fulfillment of the Civil Rights Bill and asked for texts and teaching materials that will portray "our cultural diversity and the achievement of minority groups. . ."

By 1970 the AASA declared:

> "Integration - AASA abhors the exclusion of students from any school, class, or program on grounds of membership in a particular racial, national or cultural group, whether openly or through the design of attendance areas or curricula. We strongly urge all governmental and educational agencies throughout the country, particularly local school boards and their employees, to renounce any policies that tend to inhibit integration, and to promote mutual understandings, wherever members of more than one race, nationality or culture are associated."

Now, let us turn to some of the areas where the impact of the 1954 Supreme Court decision brought about reform or changes in school curriculum or practices.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

"Freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society--to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school."

- President Lyndon Johnson, Howard University Address, June 4, 1965

"The catalyst in the development of education as an anti-poverty policy was the 1954 Supreme Court ruling in the case of Brown vs. The School Board of Topeka, Kansas.

- Donald M. Levine and Mary Jo Bane, The "Inequality" Controversy

"Equal educational opportunity demands that, where what children bring to school is unequal, what the school puts in must be unequal and individualized to insure that what the school produces is at least equal at the basic levels of achievement."

- Edmund W. Gordon in Mosteller and Moynihan

Introduction

Much has been written about equality of educational opportunity--most of it during the past ten years. Although the concept of equality has been with us since the establishment of our nation--its political significance was examined more frequently in the past than its educational implications. There prevailed an almost tacit opinion that educational underachievement was a shortcoming inherent in the learner. The impact of the Brown Decision was to reexamine the origins and causes of inequality in education.

The debate over equality of educational opportunity lifted the burden from the "disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived" and placed it upon the educational institution, society, and their shortcomings. It was a revolutionary and significant shift that questioned former rationale for educational failure. Justice, equity, competence, and even educational intent entered into the discussion. Schools and society were now on the defensive. The advocates of equal educational opportunity soon began to advance the thesis that equity was not enough. Schools and society had to compensate for prior discrimination and neglect. 'There is nothing so unequal as to treat unequals equally' became the slogan! The battle for equity was waged in the political, economic and educational arena. When these forces in our society did not seem to respond--people turned to the courts for equity. The schools, although they felt that they were being asked to compensate for their own shortcomings as well as those of society, accepted this challenge without major revisions of former practices, or recognition of the school's limitations.

During the 1950's the concept of equal educational opportunity was not discussed widely. The schools were attacked primarily by critics on the right, leading to a joining of forces on behalf of public education. Integration was seen as a southern problem, and the cities had not yet recognized the challenges that were to come in the 1960's.

Detroit's Citizens Advisory Committee of 1957

In the fall of 1956 Detroit acquired a new superintendent, Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, the former U. S. Commissioner of Education. Brownell was the first outsider chosen as superintendent in almost fifty years. The Detroit Board of Education had also acquired several new members--and the new superintendent and the Board, mindful of the public's growing concern about education, decided in the spring of 1957 to appoint a citizens advisory committee to review education in the schools and to draw up recommendations for the next decade. The author was designated by the Committee and the Board to serve as research director.

The Committee undertook to look at five areas of education: curriculum, personnel, building needs, finance, and school-community relations. The last item, interestingly enough, was added upon the recommendation of the only black board member serving at the time. Consultants were brought in and the members sat down at various meetings and school buildings to prepare their recommendations.

It is necessary to trace how the recommendation to include school-community relations was developed. In February 1957, Dr. Remus Robinson, the black board member, made a motion that human relations be included for study by the citizens committee that was about to be formed. Then in May of that same year, after the Board of Education had experienced its first defeat in a request for additional funds, Robinson questioned whether the absence of some 80,000 voters was due to a feeling by a part of the electorate that schools were not serving their children equally. He then urged the Board of Education to pass a resolution assuring citizens that " . . . the Board of Education endorsed the goal of equal educational opportunity in the district's school system and direct the implementation of this goal (1) through administration function and operation, (2) through the school finances, and (3) through the policies and practices of this Board." (Proceedings of the Board of Education)

After many meetings with staff, board members, consultants, citizens in the community, etc. the Citizens Committee began the task of developing its recommendations in the fall of 1958. Among the recommendations adopted was a major reorganization in the central office to establish a division for school-community relations and a recommendation calling for integration when setting school boundaries. On the matter of equal educational opportunity--the Committee recommended ". . . that steps be taken immediately to provide equal educational opportunities to every child in our community, and that there be continuous appraisal of this program so that inequalities may be promptly rectified." (Citizens Advisory Committee) Based upon this recommendation the Board of Education appointed in 1959 the Equal Educational Opportunities Committee.

The Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity will be discussed later in this chapter--first, let us turn to some studies and events which stimulated the concern for equal educational opportunity.

New Concerns with Equality in Education

In the years immediately following the Brown Decision educational concern was focused on the gifted rather than upon the average or failing student. This was partially influenced by the advent of Russia's Sputnik in 1957 and wide criticism throughout the nation of a decline in academic standards.

Concern for the education of the poor or disadvantaged was not, however, ignored. On September 27, 1957, there appeared an article in School and Society by Horace Mann Bond, "The Productivity of National Merit Scholars by Occupational Class." Bond examined the 1956 Merit Scholars list and classified the scholars according to occupations of parents as reported

by the students. His findings, with few exceptions, revealed a close relationship between class and educational achievement. He asked, "How many workers (were) required to raise one (Merit Scholar)?" He found that whereas 3,195 librarians produced one Merit Scholar--the number for craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers was 140,112; for farmers and farm managers, farm laborers, and foremen--the number was 389,643; and for laborers, except farm and mine, it was 3,581,370. Bond elaborated on this concern in The Search for Talent, his 1957 Inglis Lecture at Harvard University. He concluded his remarks with a strong plea for greater concern for all students.

> "There is 'gold in them thar hills': in the rural families of the nation, in the underprivileged regions and races of the nation, in the laboring multitudes now possessed for the first time in human history of second generation literacy. This is the gold of high human capacity for sustained intellectual activity on the highest levels. At no time, nor in any culture, have the effects of an equalitarian ideal of education so prepared a population for the next possible advancement toward complete equality of opportunity.
>
> It is my earnest hope that in this present crisis the way to national salvation may continue to be that of our great tradition: the preferment of all of the people through the agency of free and universal education." (Bond)

In that same year, 1957, when Bond was delivering his Inglis Lecture a scholar was at work in Detroit looking at the relationships between income and educational services. Patricia C. Sexton received her Ph.D. from Wayne State University in Detroit, and though her book Education and Income was not published until 1961, I recall meeting with her at the office of the Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee in 1957-58 when she was gathering her data.

A former worker on Detroit's auto assembly line and the wife of Brendan Sexton, the educational director for the UAW, Professor Sexton was no stranger to the concerns of the blue collar worker. She traced the relationships of class and educational services in "Big City" (the name applied by her to Detroit) and pointed to the inequalities of opportunity within the school system. Professor Sexton noted toward the end of her book the work of the Detroit Citizens Advisory Committee of 1957-58 and pointed to some signs of movement toward equity. A review of the recommendations made by Professor Sexton predicts some of the measures that were suggested and tried during the 1960's.

Detroit's Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity

In December, 1959, the Detroit Board of Education implemented the recommendation of the earlier Citizens Advisory Committee to appoint a special committee to review the issue of equal educational opportunities in its school system. The charge of the Board asked the member to include in its findings and recommendations:

"1. Problems involved in providing equal educational opportunities for pupils.

2. Evidences of progress and promising practices which are believed worthy to continue and to strengthen.

3. Evidences of needs to bring about greater equality of educational opportunities.

4. Recommendations considered to be reasonable and practical for the public schools in order to meet their needs."(Equal Educational Opportunities Report)

The new Committee began its deliberations in January 1960 and completed its task by March 1962. The Committee stated at the outset a set of principles, characteristic of the early 1960's, which guided its activities:

"The rights of all men are equal.

All children are educable and entitled to all the knowledge they can acquire.

The abilities and achievements of all children can be raised.

The right to knowledge and self-improvement is the equal endowment of all.

Educational opportunity is one of the most effective means of correcting social inequities.

It is the responsibility of the school to provide programs to meet the needs of individual children.

In today's America, a high school education is a minimum requirement regarded as a necessity for all. The Supreme Court of the United States has considered education as probably the most important function of state and local governments and it has stated that "it is a right which must be offered to all its citizens on equal terms."

Segregation, on the basis of race, is a denial of equal educational opportunity. The Supreme Court has stated, 'To separate them (Negro children) solely because of their race from others of similar age and qualifications generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community which may affect their minds and hearts in a way unlikely ever to be undone." (Equal Educational Opportunities Report)

At the very outset of its Report the Committee stated its conception of equal educational opportunity:

"'Equal educational opportunity,' it must be clearly understood, does not mean that the same or an equal program will meet the needs of all children.

> Where, because of a great many reasons, the needs of children are different, equal educational opportunity may mean taking up the slack of the educationally disadvantaged--just as it means highly-enriched-education for the intellectually-gifted having average or better-than-average educational backgrounds. For each child, the kind of education he needs for his own optimum development: this is the concept. (Equal Educational Opportunities Report)

In its letter of transmittal to the Detroit Board of Education the Committee summarized its activities and views under several categories:

School Boundaries. Although the Committee observed some progress in the establishment of school boundaries, it strongly urged "further review of all school boundaries and recommends that in the establishment of boundaries the ethnic composition of the school district be given equal importance with other factors.

Busing. The Committee recommended that "busing be done in such a way that segregation will not be continued or augmented. (Busing in those years was done primarily for overcrowded schools.)

Apprenticeship and Cooperative Work Programs. Here the Committee found serious instances of discrimination and urged that, if necessary, the entire program "be discontinued to focus community attention upon this discriminatory practice and its implications for out total society."

Personnel Practices. This area aroused the greatest concern on the part of the Committee. While the members acknowledged the large number of black teachers hired in recent years by the Detroit public schools it "found a clear-cut pattern of racial discrimination in the assignment of teachers and principals throughout the city."

School-Community Relations. In this area the Committee explained that its concern was not with inequality "but rather one of inadequacy." Among its suggestions for improving school-community relationships it suggested a central complaint bureau "for receiving and processing of parents' grievances."

Culturally Handicapped. This term the Committee defined as "children deprived of books, art, music, wholesome recreation, etc." As the physically handicapped need additional services, so do the culturally handicapped, the Committee asserted. It recommended "that these children be compensated with additional personnel and resources."

School Plant. The Committee praised the Board of Education for allocating over 50 per cent of its building funds for inner city school. The Board's action, asserted the Committee, would "eliminate to a very considerable degree the most visible symbol of inequality of educational opportunity--the old school."

It is interesting to reflect upon the last comment of the Committee on school plant which it made in 1962. Ten years later a federal judge in Detroit looked back upon this building effort and criticized it for containing segregation within the inner city.

The Equal Educational Opportunities Report was transmitted to the Detroit Board of Education in March 1962. Before we examine the response of the Board of Education, let us review some of the national and local concerns in the area of race relations during these years.

The Rise of 'Black Militancy' and White 'Backlash'

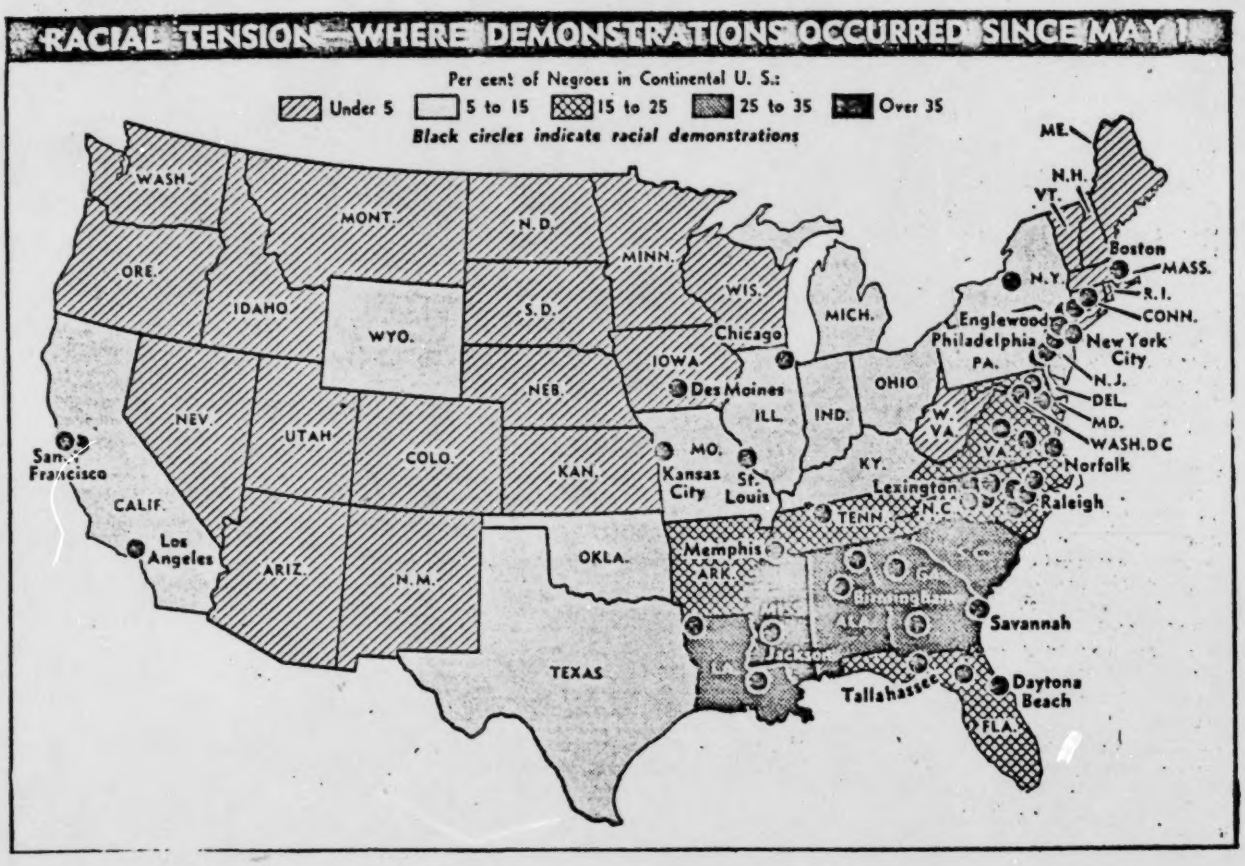
The years 1960-62, when the Equal Educational Opportunity in Detroit was deliberating its recommendations, were turbulent years in the Civil Rights Movement. The frustrations over the slow pace of integration, the difficulties encountered in political and economic areas, all had their impact upon the climate within which public discussions were conducted. These were years that saw the growth of the Black Muslims, the rise and influence of Malcolm X, and the growing militancy on the part of CORE and SNICK. The established black leadership was being challenged by new leaders who criticized both the rate of progress and the tactics or strategies of the black leadership. Newspapers began to write about black militancy, and to speculate about the role of the traditional leadership in the black community. Gradualism was under attack.

On June 9, 1963, The New York Times reported on a map the many demonstrations by Blacks that had taken place since May 1 of that year. Although most of the demonstrations were in the eastern part of the nation--mass meetings had also taken place in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Des Moines, Kansas City, St. Louis, and Chicago. Tensions grew to the extent that President Kennedy appealed 'for an armistice on new Negro demonstrations while Congress considers civil rights legislation.' (Philadelphia Bulletin, June 19, 1963) Julian Bond, at that time administrative assistant of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, replied to the President's appeal: "We cannot in good conscience ask American citizens who have been denied their rights for 300 years to refrain from voicing their demands in any way they choose." (Philadelphia Bulletin, June 19, 1963)

Traditional leaders in the black community, while expressing concern over some of the directions taken by various black groups, also indicated signs of this growing militancy. James Farmer expressed concerns that Black Nationalism might "turn into hate of everything;" Whitney Young attributed the radical changes in the Negro's attitude to the fact that "he no longer feels innately inferior to the white man;" and Dr. Kenneth Clark attributed the growing tensions to the fact that "The Negro does not feel himself to be a part of this white dominated country." (Detroit Free Press, April 28, 1963)

The American people were divided over civil rights. When Gallup asked white citizens in 1963 whether President Kennedy was pushing racial integration 'too fast,' 'not fast enough,' 'about right,' or 'no opinion'--62 per cent

The New York Times
June 9, 1963



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of southern whites responded 'too fast,' 4 per cent 'not fast enough,' and 19 per cent thought 'about right.' This indicated a change from the previous year when the same question resulted in 59 per cent, 5 per cent, and 9 per cent. In the north the trend among whites was similar: 34 per cent said in 1963 'too fast,' against 27 per cent the year before, 17 per cent said 'not fast enough,' against 11 per cent in the previous year; and 33 per cent replied 'about right' against 37 per cent in 1962. (Detroit Free Press, June 16, 1963) Opposition to civil rights measures was growing and editorial writers were urging black militants to "cool" their demands. (New York World Telegram, July 8, 1963)

The phenomenon labeled by some 'the white backlash' appeared in Detroit when the Equal Educational Opportunity Committee presented its report in 1962. A white home-owner group protested that the composition of the Committee was "unrepresentative of all citizens," and "racially slanted." The President of Greater Detroit's Homewoners Association, designated by the press as the 'spokesman for the white counter revolt" gained prominence for his efforts to introduce a "homeowners ordinance." His prominence and success in defeating the school millage campaign in 1963, a request for additional funds, won for him in the coming election a judgeship. (Detroit Free Press, November 3, 1963)

The rejection of the schools' requests for additional funds in April 1963 was the first major defeat suffered by the schools. Since then, 1963, the schools requests for additional funds have generally been supported by Blacks and opposed by whites. The school enrollment in 1963 was nearly 50 per cent Black and the interesting phenomenon that occurred since that year was that in areas where school achievement was generally high--the vote for additional funds was "no," and in the areas where achievement was generally low--the vote was "yes." This pattern has not changed since 1963.

The Response of the Detroit Board of Education to the Equal Educational Opportunities Report

Within this atmosphere of racial ferment the Detroit Board of Education undertook to grapple with the recommendations of the Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities. The national and local tensions were reflected in the Detroit debate. The meetings were more stormy and the pressures greater.

There were two stages in Detroit's concern with equal educational opportunities in the early 1960's. The first focused on equity in terms of assignment of personnel, buildings, equipment, etc. The second stage saw the expansion of the definition of equal educational opportunity. The new definition acknowledged that merely treating children from deprived areas equally was not enough. Where children come to school with cultural handicaps, they must be given special services in the same manner as the school has historically regarded physical handicaps.

The assignment of staff became the major issue in Detroit during the year 1962-63. Whereas administration pointed to the dramatic increase of black personnel in the Detroit school system--the Committee complained about the assignment of black teachers and administrators to schools where enrollment was predominantly Black. Various plans were advanced to correct the situation, resulting eventually in the'balanced staff concept'--a policy which required that in assignment and transfers of school personnel experience, race, and sex be considered in order to achieve balanced staffs in Detroit schools.

The efforts to balance the school staff took several years, but the trend in the 1960's was in the direction of an integrated staff. The Equal Educational Opportunity Committee had its impact upon other aspects of the school program: textbooks, in-service training, and above all--developing sensitivity on the part of teachers and administrators to the concept of equal educational opportunities. It should be noted that in May of 1962, during the discussion of recommendations by Equal Educational Opportunities, the Detroit chapter of the NAACP and others celebrated the eighth anniversary of the Brown Decision. The historic occasion was recalled, and its continued influence on behalf of civil rights was extolled.

Equal Educational Opportunity Shakes Up Complacency Over School Dropouts

The revised edition of the Encyclopedia of Educational Research, published in 1950, does not have an article on dropouts--although several articles speak of "retention" in school. The 1969 edition, however, does have an article, "Dropout-Causes and Consequences." America discovered the poor after Brown.

On January 4, 1963, President Kennedy in his State of the Union Message to Congress said:

> "The future of any country which is dependent on the will and wisdom of its citizens is damaged, and irreparably damaged, whenever any of its children is not fully educated to the fullest extent of his capacity. . . Today, an estimated four out of ten students in the fifth grade will not finish high school--and that is a waste we cannot afford. (Schreiber)

The outcome of President Kennedy's plea resulted in special funds being allocated to hire additional counselors for guidance to students and parents.

Concern over children withdrawing from school prior to high school graduation was not new in this country. In 1909 Leonard P. Ayres published Laggards in our Schools, a Study of Retardation and Elimination in City School Systems. He pointed out, at the time, that schools in large cities, "carry all of the children through the fifth grade, half of them to the final elementary grade, and one in ten to the final year of the high school." (Ayres) Since then, HEW has reported that in 1932, 30 out of 100 in the fifth grade finished high school, and by the mid-1960's it was estimated that 2 out of 3 finished high school. A high school diploma, however, was much more important to a student in the 1960's than in previous decades. Increase in technology made a high school education almost a prerequisite for most jobs.

Following Brown and the frustrations of integration and educational achievement, a credibility gap grew between school and home. Studies appeared suggesting bias, tracking, lack of compassion, etc. Thus, though more students remained in school after 1960 than in any former decade--by the late 1960's the term dropout was often changed to "pushout." Children left school, according to some, due to the rigidity of the program, lack of reading ability, incompetent staff, etc.

The problem of school retention received wide attention in the press during these years. Though Labor Secretary Wirtz was criticized by some for suggesting that a compulsory age level for children in school should be moved up to eighteen--a state legislator in Michigan proposed legislation to designate $10 million dollars to reduce dropouts; (Detroit Free Press, February 26, 1964) and the U. S. Commissioner of Education warned the nation that 700,000 students would leave school that year. (Philadelphia Bulletin, January 6, 1964)

The issue of dropouts in schools was ascerbated by the discrepancy between retention of whites and other races. Although much progress was made by minorities after World War II, the percent of high school educated in the ages 20 to 24 by 1972 was about 68 per cent for Blacks and other races as compared to about 85 per cent for whites. In 1950, some twenty years earlier, the figure was about 25 per cent for Black and other races and about 59 per cent for Whites. (Social Indicators)

As a consequence over the debate on dropouts--the quality of teaching became an issue on the agenda. Along with the general criticism of teacher training institutions came the demand for the retraining of teachers, particularly in urban centers. In 1962 the federal government announced a grant to Hunter College "to train teachers for slum schools." (New York Times, June 17, 1962) In October of that same year, Dean Harry N. Rivlin of the City University of New York, issued a report in which he recommended special programs and in-service training models for teachers in the inner cities of this nation. (New York Times, October 14, 1962)

In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson held a White House Conference on education. The group meeting in Washington concluded that there were eight major concerns facing American education--teacher education was one of the eight listed.

It was during this period that Detroit established a separate department for Continuing Education which is presently called "In-Service and Staff Development." It is noteworthy that in the 1975 Desegregation Case Judge Robert E. De Mascio, of the U. S. District Court, ordered an intensive teacher training program to accompany the integration process. He said:

> "A comprehensive in-service training program is essential to a system undergoing desegregation. A conversion to a unitary system cannot be successful absent an in-service training program for all teachers and staff. All participants in the desegregation process must be prepared to deal with the new experiences that inevitably arise. The order that follows pursuant to these guidelines requires in-service training in

such fields of teacher expectations, human relations, minority culture, testing, the student code of conduct, and the administration of discipline in a desegregated system for all school personnel. The program shall also include an explanation of the purpose and nature of each component in the desegregation order." (A Report to the Honorable Robert E. De Mascio)

In his first report to the judge the superintendent of Detroit stated that since its inception in 1963, the Department of Continuing Education provided training for over 20,000 professionals and para-professionals.

Schools in our country have traditionally encouraged continuing education for teachers. Salary increases have been offered in the past to encourage this need and some states have required additional courses in the beginning years of teaching for retention of teacher certificates. The demands for additional training in the 1960's were, however, different. They focused on specific needs. They acknowledged inadequacies of past training, and shifted educational failure from the child to the professional.

Compensatory Education - A Major Step for the Implementation for Equal Educational Opportunity

The topic of compensatory education is too complex to discuss adequately in this monograph. Nevertheless, its relationship to Brown and the issue of equal educational opportunities, call for a brief acknowledgement and assessment.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, with its emphasis on Title I, the section which recognized the need for providing special services for children who were both poor and not achieving well in school, was the major national response to the demands for equal educational opportunity. The aid was categorical in nature--it prescribed that funds must be used only for the poor and the underachievers. It was geared 'to pick up the slack' that existed primarily in depressed areas, and to enable children in these areas to climb the educational ladder more successfully.

The guidelines of Title I, which were amended over the years, required the establishment of Parent Advisory Councils, encouraged teacher aids selected from the community, promoted educational reform, provided opportunities for cultural enrichment experiences, and instituted evaluation teams to assure that funds were used in accordance with Congressional intent.

The Supreme Court stated in Brown that "Education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments." The Court recognized the significance of education to the well-being of each child and adult, and stressed the rights of all to equal opportunity:

"In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such, an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms." (Brown vs. Board of Education, 1954)

The Compensatory Education Program of 1965, though not a vehicle for desegregation (Brown's initial purpose), was, nevertheless, a response to the Supreme Court's focus upon the importance of equal educational opportunity.

A great deal has been written upon the strengths and weaknesses of the federal compensatory program. Evidence is still continuing to appear, and we will need to wait for a more comprehensive assessment. Yet some gains and advances are evident: numerous states have introduced supplementary compensatory educational programs based upon the national design; more research and experimentation has taken place in large cities due to compensatory aid than in any previous period; the stress on better school achievement, as highlighted by Title I, has served as a strong motivating or driving force upon the profession to improve both itself and the educational program; and it has, through the mandated Title I Parent Advisory Councils, given the public power to exert its influence for a better future for their children.

TEXTBOOKS - GUARDIANS OF AN INCOMPLETE HERITAGE

"While professional educators have been developing education for nationalism, textbook writers have been creating images of America and the good American. They have helped to enforce such national symbols as the flag, the Constitution, and heroes. They have painted the ideal America and American partly through contrast with and comparison to other countries and peoples. The deepest identification has been with selected European peoples; some of the Europeans, plus the remainder of the world, have remained outside the American pale. Thus have the textbook writers, along with the legislators, the courts, and the professional educators, created a United States and Americans to people it."

- Gladys A. Wiggin, Education and Nationalism

Criticism of American textbooks had existed prior to 1954, but the disagreement was generally over sectionalism and occasionally over the treatment of Catholicism in American schoolbooks. As Catholics turned to developing their own school system in the latter half of the 19th century, the domination by white Protestants over school texts continued into the 20th century. There were differing textbooks in the South, the West or the Northeast, etc., but primarily they reflected Protestant values and culture.

Stereotypes of the 19th century textbook continued into the first half of the 20th century: the American Indian was depicted as either "bloodthirsty and savage" or as McGuffy described him, "A noble son of nature;" and the Irish were characterized for "their acknowledged pugnacity--and that improvident restlessness." After World War I, Germany emerged in texts as being "crafty, cruel, designing and militaristic." The so-called new immigrants: the Poles, the Jews, the Russians, the Italians, and others arriving from southern and eastern Europe after 1880 were often described as "hordes," "swarms," "illiterate," etc; while our books on the west coast referred to the "Oriental

menace." The French were generally treated positively in our texts--we did not forget Lafayette, although more recent texts seem to suggest that we are trying to forget DeGaulle.

To comprehend more fully the difficulties confronting those who wanted to change American texts after 1954 we need to examine in greater detail the ingrained proclivity to stereotypes in American textbooks, a malady, unfortunately, common to other nations.

In 1930 Bessie L. Pierce published her study on Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks. She had examined some 400 texts in common use at the time. The following excerpt by Pierce from a textbook published in 1921 by a prominent publisher illustrates the attitudes that textbook authors were nurturing in our schools:

> "Immigrants that come from northern countries of Europe are of a class that made good citizens, and as long as most of the immigrants were of that class all went well (says Thompson). But since the War of Secession most of the immigrants coming to this country have been from the lower classes of eastern and southeastern Europe and they give much trouble. They are for the most part very ignorant, and having been downtrodden in their old homes, they have no respect for law or government. In fact, many of them would like to see the government of the United States destroyed. How to deal with this undesirable class of immigrants is one of the serious problems that we have today."(Pierce)

As to the treatment of Negroes, Pierce says, "The place of the negro (sic) in American life is not ignored by the writers of history textbooks. More attention is paid to the negro as slave than as a citizen of the present."

One of the earliest studies on the treatment of the Negro in American history school texts was by Marie E. Carpenter in 1941. Carpenter's study, a doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, offers a number of recommendations and concludes with the following observation:

> "Comparisons of different editions by the same authors of recent years shows only little change in the content on the Negro in proportion to developments in scholarship, textbook writing, and teaching of history. The three Muzzey volumes, one of which was used in two editions included in this study, all presented just about the same story of the Negro. No attention was paid to slave life, problems faced by Negroes because of their position in the United States, or to changes since Reconstruction, although the author stated that his book was to help students understand how present problems have grown out of the past."(Carpenter)

Carpenter goes on to state that the 1937 edition by Beard and Beard, unlike the 1925 edition, capitalized the word Negro, and the index pointed to "more page references on the Negro."

A study by Ruth Miller Elson, Guardians of Tradition, which examined attitudes in American schoolbooks in the latter part of the 19th century, reports similar findings to those of Pierce. Thus Elson quotes from a speller published in 1888 illustrating the use of the words "concur" and "demur": "When the Judge says that the law gives the right to vote to negroes (sic), I concur, but when he extends the provision to wild Indians, I demur." (Elson)

The period immediately following World War II witnessed a wave of criticism against school textbooks on the grounds of alleged Communist ideology or charges of obscenity. The New York Times of May 25, 1952 carried a front page account of a national survey concerned with charges of subversive influences in textbooks--reporting incidents of book burnings in various parts of the nation and alarm on the part of educators about textbook censorship. The fear of educators and publishers was, undoubtedly, justified, although little recognition was given at the time to the "censorship" that had prevailed for decades insofar as minorities were concerned.

In 1960, the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai Brith conducted a survey on the treatment of minorities in textbooks and reported that there prevailed:

1. An overemphasis on the ancient part of the Jews and an inadequate presentation of their present status.

2. That accounts of the Nazi persecutions minimized what had been done to their victims--and that one-third of the texts omitted the persecutions entirely.

3. The position of Negroes in contemporary society was found to be entirely ignored.

4. Negative stereotypes were presented of the Spanish-speaking immigrant.

- New York Times, January 11, 1961

The Anti-Defamation League called for revision of texts and urged parents to fill gaps in textbooks.

It is difficult to assess the response, if any, to the Anti-Defamation League Report of 1961. A review of newspapers for that year reveals that other aspects in textbooks concerned Americans: In Twin Lakes, Wisconsin, a textbook battle attracted national attention over the introduction of the McGuffy readers by the Twin Lakes Board of Education; in Pontiac, Michigan, parents complained that The Good Earth, Drums Along the Mohawk, and The Scarlet Letter should be removed from reading lists for immorality and obscenity; and in Downey, a suburban community in California, parents demanded that the Tarzan books be removed from the school library--since Tarzan had never married Jane!

But with the growth of the Civil Rights Movement objections by Blacks and others on the treatment of black history in American textbooks intensified. Protests were reported in Detroit in 1962, Chicago in 1963, and Philadelphia, New York and Los Angeles in 1964. On March 24, 1965, The Wall Street Journal

carried a major story on "Integrated Books" wherein publishers conceded ". . . that the textbook treatment of the role of Negroes and other minority groups in American history has been inadequate."

The protest of the early 1960s over the treatment of Blacks in textbooks was accompanied also by an attack upon school primers which generally presented a white middle-class culture. In 1960 Detroit Public Schools began to develop integrated urban primers to replace existing readers.

The proposal to develop integrated urban primers aroused interest and enthusiasm on the part of educators and parents. A staff was selected--a group to carry out the task of selecting the appropriate vocabulary, a team of writers, an artist, and a parent advisory group living within the inner city.

In October, 1960, The Michigan Chronicle, a weekly black newspaper in Detroit, carried the following item:

> "The Board of Education almost goofed according to several Negro teachers. A primer about Negro life called "Sammy" was scheduled to go into use Monday but was withdrawn Friday. It portrays a Negro family in which the mother is apparently unwed, because no mention is ever made of a father. Later in the book, an "uncle" comes around."

The account in the Chronicle may have been slightly exaggerated but the lack of sensitivity and understanding of inner city parents was undoubtedly correct.

The staff, applying the principle of frequency of words used by the children and ability to use only a limited number of words in the first story did not introduce the father until later. Calling one of the black children Sammy, a name which raises unfavorable associations among Blacks, was an error. But objections by parents to signs of poverty in the illustrations was most significant. First, the parent advisory groups objected to the patches drawn by the artist on children's jeans--though the patches were also drawn for white children in the story. The second complaint was even more revealing. There was a scene in the primer where on a hot day the fire department turned on the fire hydrant to sprinkle the children with water. Parents objected to the splashing in the street and suggested a rubber pool in the back yard instead. When staff contended that they had not seen a single rubber pool in the area, the response was: "Should not our children aspire to a rubber pool rather than splashing in the dirty street?" It took time to recognize that the poor, too, do not want too much reality.

The primers were completed and published by Follett. After a trial run in several selected schools they were introduced throughout the city. The community accepted the new books. A teacher reported with joy an incident that occurred on the first day when the new books were introduced. A six-year-old black youngster turned to an illustration in the primer and noticed, probably for the first time, a black youngster in a school reader, and he exclaimed with satisfaction, "I know this guy!" Within a few years several major publishers introduced integrated readers.

In 1962, after a protest against an American history book over the treatment of Negro history, the Detroit Board of Education approved a supplement prepared by the staff to replace two of the objectionable chapters. The Detroit Board of Education also approved a resolution calling upon publishers to be more cognizant of the contribution of minorities, particularly Negroes, to the history of America. Similar resolutions were adopted in New York City and Philadelphia in 1963, and in Los Angeles in 1964.

The complaints of parents and civil rights groups about the content of our textbooks was strengthened by a report issued in 1964 by six historians of the University of California's Berkeley campus which stated that seven widely used American history books " . . . generally ignored and debased the Negro's role." The authors of this report stated in their introduction:

> "Always and everywhere our children should be told the truth, and the whole truth, as near as the best current scholarship can bring us to this elusive quality. This means, among other things, not obscuring the harsher aspects of the truth--the fact that Negroes entered American society as slaves, the brutalities of slavery, the racism of the Reconstruction and Post-Reconstruction era, and the continuing depth and harshness of the problem of segregation and discrimination.
>
> In the light of these general principles, the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro. As several of the individual reports point out, the Negro does not 'exist' in the books. The authors of the books must know that there are Negroes in America, and have been since 1619, but they evidently do not care to mention them too frequently. In one book there is no account of slavery in the Colonial period; in a second, there is not a single word about Negroes after the Civil War; in a third (composed of documents and substantive chapters), the narrative does not mention Negroes in any connection.
>
> As Ralph Ellison's novel Invisible Man demonstrates, whites frequently do not "see" Negroes. But Negroes are Americans; their history is part of American history. They need to be "seen" in textbooks. What is especially important is that the discussion of Negroes appear as an integral part of the book. Perfunctory or casual treatment may imply that Negroes are not part of America." (California State Dept. of Education)

The mounting pressure against discrimination in textbooks led to a Congressional hearing in 1966 on Books for Schools and the Treatment of Minorities. (Hearings) This hearing, according to Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, Chairman of the Congressional Subcommittee, sought " . . . to explore: (1) The role of the publishing industry in producing books suitable for the education of the educationally disadvantaged, low income, and what is variously referred to as culturally deprived school children; (2) the treatment of minority groups and their role in American society in the basic reading texts used in all schools; (3) official school and library selection policies; (4) the extent

of expenditures under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and other legislation supporting book purchases; and (5) alleged price fixing of books by publishers and restriction of school library purchases to certain editions with questionable binding--cost and durability." (Hearings) The hearings were held from August 23 through September 1, 1966, and a report of over 800 pages of testimony, including the U. S. Commissioner of Education, educators, publishers, etc., was published.

The momentum to change the image of minorities in textbooks continued after 1966. Legislatures in several states adopted resolutions calling for objective treatment of minorities, boards of education appointed textbook selection committees more sensitive to minority concerns, and newspapers wrote editorials calling upon publishers to provide more adequate treatment of minorities.

By 1965 the Detroit Board of Education had adopted a practice that all purchases of new texts and instructional materials must first be approved by the Human Relations Division of the school system prior to presentation to the Board for approval. In 1968, when dissatisfied with the slow progress made by publishers, the Detroit Board approved a recommendation from the Superintendent not to purchase books that year but wait until acceptable books were available. (Proceedings of the Detroit Board of Education, June 25, 1968) The Detroit school staff also prepared a report, A Review of Textbooks and Their Shortcomings in the Area of Minority Treatment, which was presented both to the Board of Education and to the U. S. Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Efforts to improve the treatment of minorities in texts continued into the 1970s. The New York Times of March 28, 1973 carried an eight column headline, "Survey of Textbooks Detects Less Bias Against Blacks But Little to Please Feminists." The news account was based on a survey made by the Michigan Department of Education of 25 social studies textbooks issued by major publishers. The opening remarks of the newspaper account were, "Blacks have made it onto the ships of Columbus and into the history of the succeeding four centuries, and Indians are no longer mere savages to be conquered so that white settlers can civilize the land. But women are still largely ignored, and Mexican Americans have little to contribute to American history." (The New York Times, March 28, 1973)

The last sentence of the New York Times account underscores the shortcomings for reform by schools and publishers. Both responded to pressure but seemed to miss the broad educational issues that were involved. Steps were taken to satisfy the critics of a given year or period rather than recognition of the principle at stake. First the Blacks complained, then a few years later the Mexican-Americans, then the Indian, then women, etc. Neither the schools nor the publishers had asked, when the first complaints arose, "what educational principles are involved? Are there groups other than Blacks that books have been slighting." The consequences were that, although some progress has been made in recent years, the war over textbooks still continues. The principle that liberty is indivisible, calling for broad and comprehensive reforms was not discerned by schools or publishers. What were some of the obstacles?

As one examines the schoolbook controversy three major concerns are apparent: (1) omissions, (2) updating textbooks, and (3) sensitivity to minorities.

Omissions - When minorities complained that they were ignored or forgotten in schoolbooks educators defended their practice on grounds that a textbook cannot be a "telephone directory" of all the minorities that came to this country. It is obvious that the selection process for a large nation is a difficult task. Yet, when we examine what does receive recognition in textbooks and what is omitted, we can conclude that selection is to a large extent influenced by a design or plan to omit the contributions of certain groups to our nation's history.

Space does not permit a full account of the omissions in American texts. Let us mention only two: Thousands of Blacks joined the northern armies to help gain their freedom, yet few texts recorded the fact that Blacks participated in the struggle for freedom, and that liberty was simply not handed down to them. Also, little has been written about laws in southern states that prohibited Blacks from learning to read and write or of the thousands of Blacks and some whites who risked their safety for the sake of learning. Similarly, although negative attitudes were developed in American texts towards Orientals who came to this country--little had been recorded of the contribution that the Chinese and other Orientals had made to the building of the West.

The omissions in our texts gave children a distorted picture of America and deprived millions from identifying with America's past, and their ancestors were denied a role in our national development. These omissions may have affected learning on the part of some children in our schools. They were deprived of feelings of worthiness and dignity--elements so essential to educational motivation.

Updating of History - Whereas our scientific knowledge was constantly updated in our school texts, social history of our nation and the world failed to update events and conditions. The introductory statement of the University of California Study on history books underscored this deficit. The texts reported the coming of "poor and illiterate" immigrants to this country but neglected accounts on their growth and development here; they told about slavery and emancipation of Blacks but had little to say about their struggle for equality after the Civil War; in world histories much was written about the colonization of Africa but very little about their early civilization or the African struggle for independence and freedom.

As black Americans searched for data about their past in Africa little was available in American world history texts that offered information or understanding of their former culture and life. A black parent remarked after he had reviewed the chapters on Africa in his child's history book: "All that has changed is that the bone in the African's nose is a little shorter."

Sensitivity - No one group can claim a monopoly on sensitivity; nevertheless, textbook authors and publishers simply cannot afford a lack of it. Our textbooks contain statements about minorities which are in some instances incorrect, in others, degrading.

The treatment of Negroes in our textbooks has been discussed previously and need not be reiterated, but the continuation of the stereotype and the lack of sensitivity remains a concern. In a widely-used book published in 1961 for Grade 5 dealing with American history, the author informs the reader that students learn some of the "beautiful songs called Spirituals" which "the Negro has given us." Here is a textbook for all American children, taught in cities with 40 per cent or more black children. Who are the "us"? A minority child often begins school with a negative self-image. If these children are to develop motivations for learning, textbook writers and teachers must find ways to improve their self-image. They must be able to associate with events and people in America, and they must achieve an awareness and a sense of pride from the contributions that their ancestors made to the building of our nation.

Alienation can be influenced not only through history or literature books. I examined in the late 1960s a number of books dealing with careers for youth. There were many photographs, yet rarely did I find a black face in these books which represented Blacks other than in blue collar occupations. If these texts were to contain pictures of boys only we would have condemned them immediately as being unsuitable for mixed classes. Yet they contained photographs primarily of white youngsters--and if a Negro was in a photograph, it was generally in a position which required little education.

My prize example of insensitivity concerns an arithmetic book. I was asked in 1963 by the superintendent to look into a complaint dealing with an arithmetic book. It was a supplementary paperback used in our schools and published by a large, national publisher. When I met the parents, their attorney opened the booklet to the first page, the object of their criticism. I was shocked to see a drawing of a black person sitting in a coal truck, and a black person shoveling coal at the top of the page. There were a number of arithmetic problems, and the heading introducing the problems below the drawing was "Amos and Andy do arithmetic." This was a book which was published in 1961, seven years after the Supreme Court decision!

As I listened to the parents' attorney rake us over the coals for our lack of sensitivity, I turned to page 12 and found this problem:

> "Once upon a time a ship was caught in a severe storm. It looked as if the ship, its crew, and thirty passengers would be lost. In order to save the ship and its crew the captain decided that one half of the passengers would have to be thrown overboard. There were 15 Christians and 15 Turks aboard the ship . . . Now the captain was a Christian. So he arranged the 30 passengers in a big circle . . . and announced that he would count the passengers, and that every ninth one would be thrown overboard.
>
> The question was: "How could the 15 Christians and the 15 Turks be placed in the circle so that all the Turks would be thrown overboard, and all of the Christians would be saved?"

The latter problem gave me an opportunity to assure parents and their attorney that the book in question was insensitive to mankind in general, not only to black people, and that it would be removed immediately from our schools. When the booklets began to pour into my office a secretary happened to open one. Now this was a 1962 edition of the above booklet and, evidently by then, the publishers had hired a consultant! The drawing on page one had been changed! A white man was now sitting in the truck, and a white man was shoveling coal, and the new heading was: "Jake and Zeke do arithmetic." Even in the revision a stereotype was included!

Many of our children are descendents of immigrants who came to this country after 1880. The treatment of immigrants in many of our textbooks still reflects some of the biases which brought about the discriminatory immigration quota laws of the 1920s which many Americans, and all American presidents, criticized. Yet, we continue to stress the illiteracy of the newcomers while we gloss over our own native illiteracy. A question by the elder Kennedy, father of our former President, is most apt: "How long do we have to live in this country before you stop calling us Irish-Americans?"

Gladys Wiggin, quoted previously, sums up the treatment of certain immigrant groups:

> "In modern, as in earlier texts, the United States was the asylum for the oppressed, but authors pointed out that making these poor benighted folk into good Americans had been no mean task. Some were ignorant, and ignorance was equated with worthlessness and, therefore, dangerous. Many came from the less desirable parts of Europe. If immigrants came from Northern Europe, the movement into this country was commended. In texts being used as late as the 1940s Northern Europeans made better Americans than did immigrants from other parts of the Continent. Those who came after 1880 were often described as "waves," "swarms" or "hoardes." Anglo-Saxons (pre-1880 migrants) had stability of character--not those who came after the crucial date. Italians, Hungarians and Poles, according to one text were slow to become Americans.
>
> In relatively recent anthologies, Scandanavians were overrepresented, but there was little attention paid to Italians, Greeks and other non-Anglo-Saxons. Italian-Americans were represented in these texts only by dialect stories. They were ignored in short stories and novels. To enforce the particular character of the American only solidly "American" names were used to designate countrymen.
>
> However, Americans wish to share their good fortune with the unfortunates. To them the United States offered free land and the blessings of liberty. In turn, some of them made substantial contributions to the prosperity of this country. Such behavior was no more than right. It was the duty of these favored people to become faithful citizens of the country which gave them so much. In school and college texts of the 1940s, the melting pot was still the ideal solution for building an American nation. Conformity of behavior to a presumed American pattern was preferred to diversity in unity."

The proper treatment of minorities in textbooks is still important. This is critical since texts remain an important part of the school curriculum. Teachers are dependent upon them, children believe them, and the information given in these texts influences political, economic, and social policy in our society. The problem of bias in textbooks, as illustrated at the outset, is not new. Brown provided an impetus for change and improvement.

DECENTRALIZATION

While rural areas in the United States were engaged in consolidation of schools after World War II--urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s were beginning to call for decentralization of education.

In the early stages, decentralization was discussed primarily in terms of administrative structure. The city was large, the central office was distant from the schools, and better articulation was needed among the elementary, junior, and senior high schools that comprised a geographic feeder pattern. The city-wide program of the 'War on Poverty' with its numerous citizen committees generated a climate for greater participation in decision making on the part of citizens, who in the past, were not part of the decision making process.

Thus, a number of cities initiated measures to subdivide the school district into several geographic areas with regional administrators to coordinate educational needs and programs within these areas. The plans differed from city to city. In some, elementary and secondary schools were placed in one administrative unit--and in others, only the elementary schools were organized under an administrative head. The powers of the regional officers were usually limited, and generally there were no parent or citizen groups to act in an advisory or policy making capacity. Budgets, policy, assignment, hiring of teachers, and purchases of supplies remained a central function.

Following the introduction of Title I and the appearance of citizen advisory councils demands for community control or decentralization began to grow in large cities. Discouragement over educational achievement, uncertainty over hiring and promotion of minorities, disappointments of integration--all along with the political gains made through Title I led to the demand for decentralization. Another factor which contributed to the movement for greater local control was the failure of administrators and boards of education, who had set up regional districts earlier, to expand local authority in keeping with the changing political climate of the mid-1960s. Administrative decentralization as set up in the late 1950s could not function in the 1960s with guidelines that seemed promising in the previous decade.

Another factor that may have contributed to the decentralization movement was a despondency among Detroit citizens after the riot of 1967. There was a sense of urgency all about us, particularly in the black community. A sense of black consciousness arose, responding to historic discrimination, neglect, and dependency. As I understood this black consciousness it sought to cast aside the former dependency and establish a sound, viable base upon which the black community could best function to meet its needs. Decentralization seemed to offer that opportunity.

Although not an initiator of the decentralization movement in Detroit--I did support it. I did not consider decentralization a panacea for all educational ills but I did regard it an important and necessary ingredient for the improvement of inner city schools. The difficulties ahead were in the rigidity and complexity of the school system, as well as in the oversimplification of some of decentralization's proponents who were either bored or impatient with the complexities in our society. The Kerner Commission on Civil Rights which followed the Watts and Detroit disturbances, recommended seven major strategies to improve large city school systems. One of these was participation by parents in decision making. The other six recommendations cost money. Without adequate funds for services necessary in large cities--decentralization could become an exercise in futility.

All three major advisory committees in Detroit--1959, 1962 and 1966--stressed the need for greater citizen involvement, though none recommended more than regional advisory committees. Yet, the various boards of education in Detroit, including the board members who were recalled for proposing a plan for integrating the schools, had misgivings about establishing formal advisory boards. In 1967 several models for regional advisory committees were recommended by central staff, but there was reluctance on the part of board members to formalize any of these.

One possible explanation for hesitancy on the part of Detroit's Board members was the ongoing controversy in New York City over decentralization. Between 1966 and 1969, when the decentralization bill was debated in the New York State Legislature, there was turmoil and unrest in New York City. Detroit Board members followed events in New York City from the Intermediate School 201 controversy through the Bundy Report and the final state legislation with keen interest. A very influential board member, Dr. Remus Robinson, the first Black to serve on Detroit's Board of Education, visited New York City, observed the hearings on decentralization, and returned very distressed by the nature of the controversy.

In addition, Detroit's Board members felt that conditions in the Auto City were different. School textbooks and instructional materials were being revised or replaced; apprentice programs were discontinued where bias existed in the selection of minority students; black teachers increased to nearly 40 per cent of the staff, and black administrators grew from 12 per cent in 1966 to nearly 29 per cent by 1969. Besides, the calls for decentralization came not from the NAACP, Detroit's foremost voice on school matters, but from groups that did not in the eyes of Board members represent the wishes of the black community. Thus, when the author of Detroit's decentralization bill, an influential legislator State Senator Coleman Young (the present mayor of Detroit) offered to meet with Board members to discuss his bill, few Board members attended the meeting. The Board took no formal action to support or oppose the bill--but probably did not anticipate its passage.

In August 1969 the Michigan State Legislature approved Act 244, a decentralization bill for Detroit, with little opposition. Rural legislators were never comfortable with the bigness of the city, thus a plan to decentralize had a great deal of appeal. The Michigan bill for decentralization was very

brief when compared with the New York State legislation. It simply ordered that the Detroit Board of Education divide the school district into no less than seven districts and no more than eleven, with no more than 50,000 nor less than 25,000 students in each district. The guidelines pertaining to the power of the districts and its relationship to the central office were left to the central board. There was to be an election for local board members in each district and the member receiving the highest vote in each district would also serve upon the central board. Five central board members were to be elected at large.

The Central Board of Education held nine hearings on the question of determining the geography of the new regions. Prior to the hearings, a majority of the board members discussed two other criteria to be included in the decentralization plans in addition to those required in the bill. First, a majority of the board said that it would attempt to divide the school district in keeping with the one-man, one-vote principle. Second, it would establish regions so that optimum integration would be possible within the new districts.

Although organizations such as the NAACP or Urban League did not appear at the hearings--it is fair to generalize that the majority of Blacks who did appear were for decentralization, and their spokesmen called for the establishment of regions which would contain a predominantly black population. The white participants were generally indifferent or opposed to decentralization, but when asked how the districts should be divided, they too opted for districts that would be predominantly segregated. It became clear during the hearings that the viewpoint of the majority of board members for integrated regions was not the goal of those who came to the hearings.

After many discussions and reviews of different models presented by numerous consultants, a majority of the board of education, four members, (the fifth yes vote was in the hospital) voted on April 7, 1970 for a plan with seven regions. The plan also included a recommendation to change the feeder patterns of 18 junior high schools so that over a period of three years, twelve senior high schools would achieve greater integration. The proposed changes were all in adjacent high school areas. The plan simply changed the boundary line between those high schools to run east and west, rather than north and south. No busing was involved since high school students walk, drive or use public transportation to get to high school.

Twenty-seven of the thirty-one speakers at the April 7 meeting vigorously opposed the plan. The plan was supported by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, the NAACP, the Urban League, the Detroit Council of Churches, the League of Women Voters, and several individuals.

The Detroit Board of Education and the staff anticipated some community opposition but did not expect it to be as strong or as emotional. But what surprised the Board most was the reaction of the State Legislature. On April 9, 1970, two days after the Board's vote, the Michigan House of Representatives amended Act 244 by stating that there shall be eleven regions, that high school boundaries must be drawn so that each student attends the high school nearest his home, and that the total plan must be placed before the city's voters for approval. On the following day the Michigan State Senate simply repealed Act 244. Since neither bill was approved by both

houses, Act 244 remained in effect for a few more months. A political axiom emerged that week: Do not attempt to make major changes in education in a year when State Legislators are running for office!

While the Michigan State Legislature was tenaciously seeking a solution to stop Detroit's integration plan, other events and actors appeared on the scene. White students in several high schools organized demonstrations to protest the proposed change in high school boundaries; hate literature spread in the city showing Blacks attacking white girls on buses; the Governor stated that, in his opinion, the Detroit Board of Education went beyond what state legislation required, and the Mayor of Detroit observed in an interview that he was opposed to artificial integration and busing of students. When reminded later in the day that there was no plan for busing in the decentralization plan, the Mayor replied that he "was thinking about a busing plan proposed for Los Angeles." Asked in a second interview if he (the Mayor) had contributed to the confusion, he replied, "Yes, I'm afraid so. I'm sorry about that."(Detroit Free Press, April 11, 1970) Efforts by central staff to meet with concerned parents were thwarted by legislative acts and threats. Why meet with the Board to discuss the plan when, daily, legislators issued statements that they would stop or amend the Board's decision?

National figures and organizations also entered the Detroit integration dispute. Professor James Coleman, U. S. Commissioner James Allen, and Father Hesberg of the U. S. Civil Rights Commission issued statements supporting the Detroit plan, but received very little visibility in the Detroit press. In the meantime, a group of citizens started gathering signatures to recall the Board members who had voted for the plan. On July 7, 1970, the Michigan State Legislature repealed Act 244 and replaced it with Public Act 48, which mandated the establishment of eight regions to be determined by a commission appointed by the Governor. The new act also included a provision, Section 12, which prohibited the implementation of the integration plan until the new Board of Education convened in January 1971.

The emotional reaction of Detroit's active voters (mostly white) against the members of the Board who voted for the integration plan merits exploration. Several factors may offer some explanation for the mood of the voters.

First, the majority of the Board and central staff were individuals who came from the so-called "liberal ranks" who did not sense the attitudes that were shared by a large segment of the community. In our zeal to respond to the demands of Blacks we neglected to pay attention to the real or imagined concerns of senior citizens and the white ethnic population of Detroit. When we talked about bias in textbooks, or discrimination in hiring or promotion, we assumed that white ethnics were pleased with the existing conditions. Later we found that this was not so.

I recall a meeting with representatives from Slovak organizations in Detroit in 1971. They informed me that there was one high school in Detroit that still had twenty per cent students of Slovak origin. In that school, the delegation pointed out, there were about fifteen positions of an administrative nature--principal, assistant principals, department heads, and counselors--yet there was not one administrator of Slovakian origin in that school. The

spokesman of the group said to me, "Don't our children also need models?" I was distressed by their report. I assured them that I would look into the matter and added, "What bothers me most is that you had to point this out to us." We knew all along that we lacked antennas in the black community and tried to overcome it--but did not pay as close attention to other groups within the city as these times had demanded.

Another factor that we misunderstood was the North's broad acceptance and support for desegregation when it applied to the South, and the differences that arose when it affected "our children's school." When the latter occurred real and imagined fears interfered with our efforts to implement the plan. In addition, there was very little in the research field that would enable us to allay the worries and fears of white parents.

Summary - The demand for decentralization was undoubtedly influenced by the momentum created following the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Resistance of white communities to desegregation, the abandonment of the city by white middle class, and in some instances, black middle class; the disappointments over school achievement, and the growing distrust of the ruling establishment led those remaining in the cities to seek other solutions. Self-reliance and independence seemed to offer hope for a better future. Probably one of the most significant factors was the phenomenon of abandonment by the white population. Abandonment was not new to minorities. They had experienced it for decades, but the fact that whites in the North expressed support for desegregation for over a decade when it applied to the South, and fled when it reached their neighborhoods turned disappointment to anger and self-pride.

I recall an incident when a neighborhood in Detroit changed very quickly. The school was below capacity when black families began to move in. More whites fled and soon the same building which in the previous year had been 30 per cent below capacity was now, when it was predominantly Black, 30 per cent over capacity. Black parents who had formerly lived within the inner city saved and denied themselves many comforts of life with both husband and wife working in order to live in a better home and have a better school for their children to attend became bitter. After all these sacrifices they found that their school was overcrowded and relief for the children was either through busing or construction of transportables on the school grounds. I recall the objections of a black parent to the above solutions for overcrowding. He said, "We bought a home that people didn't want, we attend church in a building that has been abandoned, and now you offer us busing or transportables to relieve overcrowding. All my life my boy has known only hand-me-downs. I want something new built for him. We want a new school building."

The concept of decentralization was born in conflict and has continued to be a debatable issue to this day. Some looked upon it as a struggle for the redistribution of municipal power (Bard), while others, though recognizing the political forces of decentralization, were concerned with the implications of decentralization--a swing to the right by the white middle class and continued growing racism in our society.(Cohen) Others felt that

the problem of school achievement was more than an educational issue, and turning to decentralization will delay the societal problems that must be faced. (Kristol)

The effect of decentralization upon quality education in Detroit has been a controversial issue during the six years of its existence. In 1969 a black legislator introduced the Decentralization Act of the Michigan State Legislature. In 1976 another black legislator introduced a bill to scrap decentralization in Detroit. The various regional boards, who have continuously charged that the power of the system has remained with the central board, are today resisting the legislation to eliminate the program. The Superintendent of Detroit Schools, a black educator, was censored by his Board for calling upon the Governor to appoint a commission to evaluate the effects of decentralization. The federal judge who issued the integration order in 1976, criticized sharply the existing decentralization plan. In May 1977 the Governor of Michigan and the Mayor of Detroit appointed a study committee to review the impact of decentralization upon the Detroit schools. (The Michigan Chronicle, May 28, 1977)

TESTING

"Although both advantaged and disadvantaged children can experience test anxiety . . . the disadvantaged child--particularly the disadvantaged Negro child--tend to be under much greater psychological stress in the testing situation, and thus are more likely to show the effects in test performance."

Judge Skelly Wright, Hobson vs. Hansen (1968)

In the first half of the twentieth century, when the intelligence test was introduced, it aroused considerable debate, but primarily among educators in the field of testing. After 1954 testing went "public," so to speak. Parents, civil rights organizations, and teacher associations entered the debate. Articles and reports on the pros and cons of testing appeared in academic journals and in the general press. The issue was no longer merely the misuse of the tests, but also questions of race, class and culture. It is interesting that while the debate over testing raged during the 1960s test scores assumed a more significant role in the assessment of quality education. Parents demanded that school test results be made public, and schools or cities were judged on the basis of the test results. Some cities published test scores in the press, listing each school and its score, others agreed to send scores to parents that asked for them. Individual profiles for each child were also developed in some school systems.

Intelligence or aptitude tests were under most frequent attack since it was charged that they were used for "tracking" and they, in turn, influenced, if not prejudiced, teachers about a child's potential (Rosenthal). Disputes also arose as to whether the data of psychological tests be shown to parents or remain confidential.

Another development of the testing problem during this period was the charge that tests used for promotion of staff were discriminatory against minority candidates. Questions were raised at board meetings and in courts--whether the tests prepared for higher school positions were relevant to the task that was to be performed. Some challenged the use of multiple choice tests that were administered and often used to eliminate candidates prior to the interview, the last step in promotion procedures.

National controversy also arose over tests that included questions pertaining to racial attitudes, socioeconomic class, etc., as invasion of privacy. The following incidents illustrate the depth of differences that prevailed. In 1965 the U.S. Office of Education sent a test to some 5,300 school systems. The test was the outcome of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which directed the Commissioner of Education to conduct a survey of schools to determine the "lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reasons of race, color, religion or national origin" and to report back to Congress on the results. Included in the test were attitudinal questions: "Think now of your close friends. How many of them are white?" or "How good a student does your mother want you to be?" (The New York Times, October 12, 1965) A storm arose among schoolmen. Several cities, including Chicago, Houston, Buffalo, Boston and Cincinnati refused to participate in the program. (Chicago Daily News, September 30, 1965) In 1971, when the State Department of Education in Michigan gave a statewide test to determine compensatory education funds for schools, Detroit became the scene of another testing encounter. This test included socioeconomic questions. Detroit was under decentralization with local boards in power. Region 1 in Detroit, which represented the Model City area that is the inner city, refused to permit its students to take the test, though the child's name was not to be included on the socioeconomic part of the test. The regional board adopted the following resolution, which reflects the mood of the community pertaining to socioeconomic tests:

> "Whereas, the State of Michigan, and the State Department of Education have mandated that each school district in Michigan take a test to give socioeconomic information to the State Board pursuant to Act 100 of the Public Act of 1970;
>
> Whereas, the test as proposed by the State Board of Education does not accurately measure the socioeconomic status of individuals;
>
> Whereas, the State Board of Education has overstepped its authority by giving a test which reaches in the homes of citizens without any educational justification;
>
> Whereas, the community of Region 1 feels that this test is an invasion of privacy and demeaning to their Constitutional rights;
>
> Whereas, the community feels that they will not prostitute themselves by having their children trade answers about the private lives of their families for money;

Whereas, the central administration feels that this is an improper test;

Whereas, the Region 1 school board feels it is time that the people are respected in their private rights;

Whereas, the Region 1 school board has decided to indefinitely suspend the administering of Part 1 of the Michigan Assessment Test of Basic Skills;

Whereas, the Region 1 school board has decided to take all steps necessary to receive the Section 3 funds without giving Part 1 of the test;

Be It Resolved, that the Central Board of Education of the City of Detroit give wholehearted support to the Region 1 School Board in its positions to not give Part 1 of the Michigan Assessment Test of Basic Skills; and be it further resolved that the Central Board, in conjunction with Region 1 Board, use all of its political and legal resources to make sure that Region 1 received the money from Section 3 of Act 100 without giving the test."

While parents were waging the battle over testing--scholars drew attention in the media with their dissenting viewpoints. The NEA's ASCD issued a pamphlet in 1961 claiming that "children highest in creative talent are not identified by intelligence-quotient tests." The pamphlet went on to charge that current tests were missing many more gifted children than they were identifying them. (New York Times, February 19, 1961) Critics also appeared challenging the value of these tests and claiming gross misuse.. Banesh Hoffman's The Tyrrany of Testing and They Shall Not Pass by Hillel Black were two books that received wide attention. (The New York Times, September 24, 1964) Hoffman was particularly critical of multiple choice tests, whereas Black questioned the validity of mass testing.

Dr. Henry Chauncey, President of the Educational Testing Service (ETS), defended the testing program though he cautioned its use and interpretation without additional information about the child. He said: "The tests are fair. It is the hard facts of social and economic circumstance and inadequate education that are unfair. If educational and cultural opportunities are unequal, the test results will also be unequal."

Others, like Ralph Tyler, reminded educators and legislators that norm-referenced tests are useful "to sort pupils, but do not assess what they have learned ." (The Public Interest, Winter 1974)

The concern over testing has not stopped. The NAACP convention of 1976 devoted the major portion of its resolutions to "minority testing." Several excerpts reflect the struggle over testing for the two decades since Brown. The NAACP resolution stated that "standardized tests are increasingly used to classify, stratify, and certify individuals and groups in our society."

The resolution went on to say, "Be it Further Resolved that NAACP units, through their education committees, make inquiries of testing policies and practices in their school districts, regarding:

1. What standardized I.Q. and achievement tests are given in the school district? At what ages?

2. How, and by whom, are the tests selected? Can the tests be seen and reviewed? By whom and under what conditions?

3. What learning goals do achievement tests serve? What is the impact of the various tests used on what is taught in the curriculum, on books and other materials purchased?

4. What decisions are made on the basis of test scores (e.g., placement in "tracks," special education, recommendation to college)?

5. Are tests used in the local school district free of ethnic, racial and class bias? Are they fair or unfair to children of different backgrounds?"

The issue of tests and scores is alive today in the national debate over Affirmative Action.

ACCOUNTABILITY

The year 1970 witnessed the widespread use of a new term in education--accountability. It probably came about due to disappointment in continuing low achievement scores, taxpayers complaints about higher school taxes, and the political climate the Nixon administration created with its stress on efficiency in education. By 1971 the concept of performance contracts, a plan whereby a private company would agree to "deliver" results on pre-established educational goals, received wide attention.

The issue of accountability caused a great deal of consternation within the educational profession. The Nation's Schools reported on a poll in December 1970 conducted among school administrators on accountability. These were the responses of administrators:

1. Do you feel teachers, in general, are doing their jobs well today?

   89% Yes 11% No

2. Are you in favor of making teachers formally accountable in some way for the academic performance of their students?

   72% Yes 22% No

3. Several school districts this fall have introduced internal incentive contracts with teachers--which offer bonuses to teachers whose students demonstrate above-average performance. Would you favor this kind of plan?

   23% Yes 31% No 46% Not Sure

4. What do you see as the main obstacles in working with an accountability plan such as the one described above?

18% Finance-Financing
83% Setting up criteria for evaluating teachers' performances
27% Teacher (union)
3% Community Opposition
8% Others

The various accountability proposals caused fears in the teaching ranks. Some believed that teachers would be blamed for influences beyond the school that often impede learning. Thus the New York Teachers Union which signed a contract with the New York Board of Education stating ". . . that the major problem of our school system is the failure to educate all of our students and the massive academic retardation which exists, especially among minority group students"--warned that "non-school factors such as family, mobility, and socio-economic status, etc" be examined. (New York Times, March 28, 1971) Whereas Dr. Kenneth Clark, fearing that responsibility would be shifted from the school to society only, said: "We have come up with absolutely no hard evidence that economic status is the determining factor in the ability of a child to learn and be taught." (New York Times, March 23, 1971) Thus the battle raged. Slogans appeared which called for 'Programs and not Targets' or 'Accountability - Yes - But Shared Accountability,' etc.

As the discussion continued, the definitions or interpretations of accountability expanded. A conference on accountability was held in Washington, D.C. in 1971 and attended by some 500 educators, publishers, testing experts, etc. (New York Times, March 28, 1971) The following were some reactions or interpretations pertaining to accountability: The broad concept of establishing goals and looking at results; expressing a school system's objectives, resources, operations and instructional results in numerically measurable terms so that performance can be more precisely assessed; one superintendent expressed accountability in terms of performance contracts; the Michigan State Superintendent declared that accountability meant that schools should guarantee that students will achieve certain goals, for example, a certain level of reading proficiency; and another worried about this leading to rigidity in the school system. Dr. Henry S. Dyer of the Educational Testing Service cautioned the group by stating that, "If, by the processes we employ, we teach children to pass tests, at the expense of learning; to hate the subject in which we test them; or to hate the whole purpose of learning, it seems to me we defeat the whole purpose of education and fail to be accountable to the students themselves." (ibid)

In Michigan, the State Department of Education launched by 1972 a modified form of accountability in its newly designed compensatory program. The Michigan Department of Education, Operational Manual - Chapter 3 said:

"Basically, the Chapter 3 program is a performance contract between the district and the state. The school establishes the performance objectives for pupils to be served by the program. For each pupil achieving 75 per cent

of his objectives, a school district will receive a full per-pupil allocation the following year. For each pupil achieving less than 75% of his objectives, the school district will receive a lesser amount that is proportionate to the gains achieved."

Controversies arose in Michigan about the accuracy of the testing program to measure educational achievement. The Michigan Education Association brought in a panel of outside evaluators to examine the above program. The panel published its findings in the June 1974 Phi Delta Kappan. The evaluators praised the efforts of the state for stimulating public discussion on the goals of public education; for providing "direction for state accountability...;" and for creating "an aura of innovation and change." On the deficit side, the panel felt that efforts to achieve accountability might prove "counterproductive;" that educational goals have not been clarified; and that the assessment component " . . . is too narrow in scope to serve effectively."

The State Department of Education in Michigan was, of course, limited in its actions by the State Legislature. The latter, though enthusiastic about the original proposal on accountability--nevertheless, modified, and later changed its position as the controversy became more heated. The following events took place:

"Year one was 1971-72. Some districts, according to scores, would not be refunded. So the Legislature enacted a forgiveness clause, saying the funding came too late (in late fall) for adequate preparation by districts. The Michigan Department of Education initiated the action.

Year two was 1972-73. Some districts were about to lose funds. The Legislature intervened and enacted 39A, a section which allowed the districts to retain their funding level for the third year if only they would change the delivery system they were using.

Year three was 1973-74. There were still some districts that were about to lose money. The Legislature removed the penalty clause completely, but kept the requirement that under 39A, districts below minimum should modify the delivery system they used." (Bonita Dostal Neff, mimeo)

Michigan's efforts with the penalty clause and its ultimate removal need not lead to the conclusion that the accountability effort failed. The author is of the opinion that, despite its political appeal, it was a mistake to include the penalty clause in the first place. The significance of the program was its stress on objectives, its process that led to self-evaluation, and its impact upon change when former efforts failed. The eventual development of criterion referenced tests in Michigan was a major step in the direction of accountability.

SUMMARY

I have discussed in this brief monograph some of the educational outcomes that were influenced by the Brown decision of 1954. The ommission of desegregation was deliberate--but that should not suggest that I regard the Court's impact upon integration a failure. Despite the tragic controversy over busing, when it applied to integration, or the flight of middle class whites to suburbs--some of the former practices to segregate have been abandoned in most school systems. Courts in Detroit, Los Angeles and elsewhere are now in the process of implementing desegregation programs.

As for the south, the following observation by Samuel Ethridge in 1974, merits consideration:

> "In 1934, a black child born in 95 per cent of the counties in Alabama could not receive a public education beyond the tenth grade in any school, white or black. Now, in spite of the difficulties and odds against him, the black child in any county in the United States can expect twelve years of public education, even if the whites withdraw in protest of his coming . . .
>
> The South has not overcome many of its shortcomings but it has, without a doubt, made a 180 degree turn since 1954. A person who moved from the South in 1954 and never returned until 1974 will experience cultural shock in every aspect of life from the moment of arrival to time of departure." (ASCD)

Ethridge contends, in the above article, that Brown really dealt with the "rights of first class citizens;" "equal educational opportunity," "the right to be served at a public lunch counter," "the right to sit in front or back of a bus," "the right to employment," "the right to vote," etc. Brown's impact went beyond Blacks. Chicanos, Asians, native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and women acquired a more just status in our society.

This monograph sought to point out some of the changes in American education influenced by the Brown decision of 1954. The reader might very well ask--"if Brown did all this, then why is there today so much criticism of education, and why the demands for educational reform?"

The above question, though proper, does not diminish the accomplishments of Brown, it simply underscores the complexities of educational change. The changes Brown brought about were of an incremental nature: textbook and school materials are more factual today in reflecting our American society; employment practices in schools are more in keeping with democratic principles; more equitable financing for all children has been introduced in several states; federal funds are being applied to help pick up the educational slack of millions of poor children; educational research on the learning process has been intensified; and greater stress has been placed upon professional responsibilities in schools. These are not the only changes that most of us want for our children--but they are important contributions to education. They represent some of the major changes sought for in the late 1950s and early 1960s. They are conditions necessary for windows and doors to further and more basic educational change.

We have referred to the complexities of educational change. What change do the American people want in their schools? It is fair to say that higher educational achievement--greater proficiency in reading, writing and mathematics--is certainly an objective that most Americans desire. According to Gallup polls most Americans are pleased with the schools but want more discipline practiced in the classrooms. Others want us to place greater emphasis upon basics, and teach moral and spiritual values to youngsters. Still others want less stress on formal programs and more emphasis upon child motivated activities. The list could go on and on. There are many publics that come in contact with the schools.

But greater than the complexity of contrasting publics is the nature of change. It does not come ready-made in packages, but has to be planned, designed, and implemented at each school--if not each classroom. We have witnessed that what has succeeded in one school may not work the following year, or in another classroom. And last but not least, there are limitations on the schools influence upon learning. Other institutions have their impact and must function well along with the school to enhance a child's learning.

The latter condition does not, in my opinion, remove responsibility from the teaching profession. Early childhood education in our nation is compulsory--and that places a unique obligation upon the profession to lead in improving learning for children. As one who has a high regard for America's educational accomplishments, I believe that the profession has not demonstrated the kind of leadership that new conditions called for. We, along with our critics, were looking for targets to blame, rather than programs that would bring more optimum results.

Calls for educational change are as old as our nation. Immediately after the Revolution, when the American Philosophical Society asked, "What kind of school system is necessary for a republic?" its respondents called for reform. Thus, in 1786, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a participant in the Revolution, wrote:

> "We suffer so much from traditional errors of various kinds, in education, morals, and government, that I have been led to wish that it were possible for us to have schools established in the United States, for teaching the art of forgetting. I think three-fourths of all our schoolmasters, divines, and legislators would profit very much by spending two or three years in such useful institutions." (Rush)

Dr. Rush sensed and understood the complexities of change. Recently, Seymour B. Sarason in his study, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, underscored the concern held by Rush by affirming that it is easier to create a new institution than to change an old one. Sarason believes that our efforts for change are either thwarted or limited by our disregard or lack of understanding on the nature of institutions and the cultures within which they function. He says:

> "One of the most difficult obstacles to recognizing that the major problems in our schools inhere far less in the characteristics of individuals than it does in its cultural and system characteristics is that one cannot

see culture or system the way one sees individuals. Culture and system are not concrete, tangible, visible things in the way individuals are. In many respects it is easier to think about an individual teacher or an individual principal than it is to think, for example, about the roles of teachers and principal and their relationships independent of individual personalities. It is only in recent years that we have become aware of how little we know about schools as functioning organizations or systems . . ."(Sarason)

Sarason has, I believe, focused our attention upon a fundamental aspect of change--that educational reform calls for more basic understanding and change than most proponents contemplate. The Brown decision, with its impact and influence, has helped to provide a democratic base upon which the conditions for reform can be better planned. In assessing the accomplishments of the Supreme Court's 1954 Brown decision--its broader contributions to American education and society must be recognized--and its accomplishments utilized for future educational reform.

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